

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 150949Z JUL 76
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3135
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 5614

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JULY 14, 1976
(SALT TWO - 1062)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 14, 1976.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 14, 1976
I

AS YOU KNOW, ON JUNE 23 THE USSR DELEGATION, AND ON
JULY 7, 1976 THE U.S. DELEGATION, TABLED THEIR PROPOSALS IN
CONNECTION WITH WORKING OUT PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE LIMITA-
TIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT ON LAUNCHERS
OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

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IT CAN BE NOTED THAT ON SOME ASPECTS OF THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION WHICH HAS NOW BEEN CONSIDERED FOR A LONG TIME, THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES COINCIDE OR HAVE COME CLOSER TOGETHER.

THUS, EXCEPT FOR THE QUESTION OF ASBMS, THE SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT ON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE V, PAR. 1. IDENTITY OF POINTS OF VIEW HAS EMERGED WITH RESPECT TO THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT ON THE DEFINITION OF REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ARE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE. COINCIDENCE HAS ALSO BECOME EVIDENT WITH RESPECT TO PART OF THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, DEFNINING LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

AT THE SAME TIME, DIFFERENCES REMAIN, ON WHICH ATTENTION SHOULD EVIDENTLY BE FOCUSED.

A CONSIDERABLE OBSTACLE TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS WHICH TAKEN TOGETHER MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION UNDER DISCUSSION ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS, ARE THE U.S. DELEGATION'S PROPOSALS ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, WHICH IMPLY AN APPROACH--AND THIS IS EVIDENT, IN PARTICULAR, FROM THE U.S. DELEGATION'S EXPLANATIONS SET FORTH AT THE JULY 7, 1946 MEETING--UNDER WHICH MISSILE LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS WOULD ALSO BE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE OVERALL 1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL.

THE USE OF THE WORD "TYPE" IN THE U.S. FORMULATIONS RELATING TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, REFLECTS SUCH AN APPROACH, AS DO THE REFERENCES, CONTAINED IN THE U.S. DRAFT OF ONE OF THE AGREED STATEMENTS TO THAT PARAGRAPH, TO SOME "FACTS" AND "EXAMPLES" WHICH IN THE VIEW OF THE U.S. DELEGATION COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR INCLUDING SOME LAUNCHER OR OTHER AMONG LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

THE POSSIBILITY HAS BEEN SUGGESTED HERE OF USING. INSTEAD OF THE WORD "TYPE", A SYNONYM REPLACING IT. IN THIS CONNEC-TION, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT IT IS NOT A MATTER OF AN INDIVIDUAL WORD.

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THE USSR DELEGATION HAS REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE TO AN APPROACH WHICH WOULD CREATE PRE-CONDITIONS FOR SUBJECTIVE AND ARBITRARY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT WHICH LAUNCHERS MUST BE INCLUDED AMONG LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, SUBJECT TO BEING COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE LIMIT, AND ONE WHICH WOULD IN FACT MEAN THAT THE LIMITATION WITHIN THIS AGGREGATE LEVEL WOULD

APPLY ALSO TO MISSILE LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, BECAUSE SUCH AN APPROACH IS DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO WHAT HAS BEEN RECORDED IN A CLEAR-CUT MANNER IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, THE PROVISIONS OF WHICH ARE TO GUIDE THE DELEGATIONS.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE IS CONVINCED THAT THERE IS NO NEED WHATEVER FOR THE AGREED STATEMENT, PROPOSED BY THE U.S. SIDE, CONCERNING "THE TERM LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS," AS USED IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 5. THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, PROVIDES AN EXHAUSTIVE AND CLEAR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT PART OF THE ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS, DEFINED IN ARTICLE II, PARS. 1 AND 2, ARE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, AND CONSEQUENTLY ARE SUBJECT TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS ESTABLISHED UNDER ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT.

IT APPEARS TO BE INDISPUTABLE THAT TO ELIMINATE PROVISIONS AND APPROACHES WHICH ARE DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THE CONTENT OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 AND TO THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, TO REACH AGREEMENT UPON APPROPRIATE FORMULATIONS OF THE DRAFT CONCERNING THE LIMITATIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES, AND WOULD FULLY MEET THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 5614

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II

FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME THE SIDES HAVE GIVEN CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO AGREEING UPON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AND OF THE AGREED STATEMENT BEING WORKED OUT ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES.

THE TEXT OF ARTICLE XVI REFLECTS THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF THE SIDES. THE SIDES ARE ALSO AGREED NOT TO INTERFERE WITH SUCH MEANS CARRYING OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS. A PART OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, REMAINS IN BRACKETS.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE, AND FOR THE PURPOSE OF REACHING FULL AGREEMENT UPON THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION TABLES THE FOLLOWING NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AND THE AGREED STATEMENT THERETO:

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"PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVI

3. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO USE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT. THIS OBLIGATION SHALL NOT REQUIRE CHANGES IN CURRENT CONSTRUCTION, ASSEMBLY, CONVERSION, OR OVERHAUL PRACTICES, OR IN CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES.

AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES, AS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVI, ARE SPECIAL MEASURES CARRIED OUT DELIBERATELY TO HINDER OR DELIBERATELY TO IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT, INCLUDING PROVISIONS ASSOCIATED WITH TESTING. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE PARTIES ALSO AGREE THAT METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION DURING TESTING, AND TESTING OF ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE PENETRATION AIDS, ARE NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT

MEASURES."

WE ARE TABLING THIS NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE THIRD SENTENCE OF THE U.S. WORDING FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, WILL BE DELETED.

OF COURSE, THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI AS A WHOLE AND, CONSEQUENTLY, ALSO THE PROVISIONS OF PAR. 3 OF THAT ARTICLE, WHICH WE HAVE TABLED, AND THE AGREED STATEMENT THERETO, APPLY TO ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NO NEED IN THIS CONTEXT SPECIALLY TO SINGLE OUT PROVISIONS ON TESTING. HOWEVER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE WISHES EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS FOUND IT POSSIBLE TO AGREE THAT PROVISIONS ON TESTING BE MENTIONED IN THE PROPOSED TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES THAT THE WORDING OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, BE SUPPLEMENTED BY A PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE WILL BE NO REQUIREMENT FOR SECRET

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CHANGES IN CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES, SIMILAR TO THE ALREADY AGREED MENTION THAT THERE SHALL BE NO REQUIREMENT FOR CHANGES IN CURRENT CONSTRUCTION, ASSEMBLY, CONVERSION OR OVERHAUL PRACTICES. THIS ENSURES THAT THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI, AS WELL AS OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ITS PAR. 3, WILL BE CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS.

IN COMPLETING AGREEMENT UPON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, ALL SORTS OF IMPRECISION IN THE UNDERSTANDING WITH RESPECT TO METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION DURING TESTING MUST BE PRECLUDED. THEREFORE, THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT THE AGREED STATEMENT ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES MUST CONTAIN A PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT METHODS OF TRANSMITTING TELEMETRIC INFORMATION DURING TESTING ARE NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES.

IT IS CLEAR FROM THE DISCUSSIONS HELD THAT THE VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES COINCIDE TO THE EFFECT THAT TESTS OF ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE PENETRATION AIDS ARE NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES, AND THIS HAS ALSO BEEN APPROPRIATELY RECORDED IN THE SOVIET DRAFT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT UNDER DISCUSSION.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE NEW PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, AND THE AGREED STATEMENT THERETO FULLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY COVER THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT APPROPRIATE WORDING FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREE-

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